1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
224 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

501 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pole* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo tuinga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonganga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yoku ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, kua mate, kua elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakaeatilli ai tapa i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakauru ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116—analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

140 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

575 302 [5n] Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakulo se wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yinu*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti se yinu*.

302 826 832 Body hair (*uuluuulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*vuluvulu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *palo* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvulu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tuuetuue*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

514 sea water. To defecate is *uukapayi*. The lower Cook Islands word *titiko* is today more commonly employed by both adults and children. The attitude toward the act of evacuating is highly matter-of-fact. No need for privacy is felt. Persons going along paths to the beach are greeted by the phrase, "Ka wo kotou titiko?" (Are you going to defecate?). They answer, "Eke, ka wo matou titiko" (Yes, we are going to defecate). A special word, *taeyi*, is applied to loose movements resulting from eating large quantities of fat.

TIDES

823 The Pukapukan has empirical knowledge of tidal movements of the sea. He knows that the ebb and flow of the tide is associated with the moon, and that a rising moon causes the tide to rise, though he has no reason, mythological or other, to explain this coincidence. The movements of the tide are described in eleven stages:

Tai wongi: dry reef.
Kua mmava te tai } : the sea re-fills.
Kua pupu te tai }
Kua pi te tai: the tide floods over the reef and into the lagoon.
Kua oko te tai ki nganta: the tide ripples on the beach.
Kua wowoou te tai: the tide rises higher on the beach.
Kua to te tai: the tide is steady and high.
Kua payeke te tai: the tide turns to the ebb.
Kua yeke ki te ala: the tide runs out to a dry reef.
Kua weiaulaula te tai: the tide leaves the reef rocks dry.
Kua wakiki te tai: the tide is completely out (literally, the sea is completely full).

High tide is commonly referred to as *tai tala*, low tide as *tai kiki*.

TIME

805 A day is *ayo*; today is *te ayo nei*; tomorrow, *te taeyao*; the day after tomorrow, *te toe ayo*. Yesterday is simply *te ayo* or *te ayo i mua*; the day before yesterday, *te toe ayo la mua*.

Times of the day are descriptively named, but events are adequately timed by the use of the following terms:

Te ufu o te ata matua: the darkness before dawn.
Te ata mmon: first streaks of light appear in the sky.
Te ata kena: gray dawn.
Te ulanga ata: yellow dawn or red dawn.
Te kakaonga o te tupua } : the sun crawls out of a hole like a crab (tupua). (The rising
Te wiringa o te tupua } sun is termed tupua, the risen sun la.)
Pula te la: the sun rises higher.
Kua tutu uni te la: the sun stands above.
Kua tutonu uni te la: the sun is overhead.
Kua tutonu matudo: the sun is directly overhead.
Kua angalue te la: the sun starts moving down.
Kua tatawa te la: the sun is to the side.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

All canoes are kept uncovered on the southern, or lagoon shore, of the islet. In the village are several small storage houses containing old, disassembled canoes. Within the last few years toilets have been built on piles of coral blocks several yards from the lagoon beach.

Taro Cultivation

The early inhabitants of Pukapuka solved the problem of cultivating taro on an atoll by digging large pits. They created rich soil by depositing dead coconut fronds and other fallen leaf material from the bush and allowing it to rot in the pits. Water seeped in, and a thick mud, in which taro grew excellently, was formed. During the centuries these pits have been enlarged into great excavations which will produce enough taro for the entire population (pl. 2, *B*). As the soil must continually be replenished, each row of taro has a line of coconut fronds and leaf material laid along it. The most extensive of these pits have been made on Pukapuka Islet. Excavation still continues to a limited degree.

Plantations

Each section of the village owns a part of the atoll on which it grows its taro and coconuts. Iato section owns the southwestern islet, Motu Katava (Lau-la-lalo); Ngaki owns the southeastern islet, Motu Koe (Lau-la-lunga); and Loto owns Te Motu, a part of Pukapuka Islet. *Motu* means both "islet" and "division of land". These three *motu* are communal property of the section to which they belong and are reserved for the production of food.

The division of the small food supply must be carefully supervised and restricted. Formerly the food collected was divided among all adults and children, the children receiving smaller shares. In the taro patches on Pukapuka Islet, each individual of Loto now has a plot 9 feet square which he cultivates and uses for his own subsistence (pl. 2, *A*). There are both communal patches and small ones belonging to individuals or families. In modern times the coconuts from the communal lands are still divided for the making of copra. The village council allots to each man the number of coconuts he is to cut and dry. The entire crop is collected and sold to the trading schooner, and each man receives a proportionate part of the money.

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 522 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the